1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

some other tribe, the ancient *Caingang* were improvident and consumed their crops as they matured, storing none for the lean months ahead. On the other hand, Horta Barboza (1913, p. 34) states that maize was as important to them as "wheat for the Europeans." The *Caingang* of the region of San Pedro (Misiones), observed by Ambrosetti (1895, p. 337), opened their clearings in tracts covered with bamboo or sparse bush. They broke the small trees with cudgels or by hand. When the dead trees were dry, they burned them and waited until the beginning of the rainy season for sowing. Women planted crops with digging sticks; they also harvested the crops and carried them home. Men do all the farming in the reservation of Palmas.

In modern groups the tiller of a field is recognized as its exclusive owner; if he dies before harvest, the seedlings are destroyed.

Collecting.—When the *Caingang* were still living in their aboriginal condition, pine nuts of *Araucaria angustifolia*, a tree which has a distribution coinciding more or less with that of the tribe, was fundamental to the native diet. From April to June the Indians gathered in the forests to climb the trees and knock down the ripened fruits, which the women helped to pick up. The climbing technique—also used in getting honey or in robbing birds' nests—was to pass one noose around the feet, another around the tree and the climber's back, and alternately move the two bands up the trunk. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* used only a noose of bamboo strips.

The *Caingang* also collected wild tubers (*Dioscorea* sp.) and a great many wild fruits, such as jaboticaba (*Myrciaria* sp.), pitanga (Myrtaceae sp.), articú (*Annona montana*), pineapples, papaya (*Carica papaya*), caraguatá (*Bromelia* sp.), etc. The starchy pith of the pindo palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) was formerly an important food item, but today has been supplanted by manioc flour.

Honey and the larvae of bees and especially the larvae of the tambú beetle, which abound in decayed palm and bamboo trunks, are prized delicacies. It is also reported in some sources that the ancient *Caingang* did not despise snakes or lizards.

Hunting.—The *Caingang* spend a large portion of their time hunting alone or in small parties. The dog, treated by some groups as an indispensable auxiliary, is a recent acquisition. Some *Caingang* groups lacked it as late as 1912. To develop the smelling powers of their dogs, the Indians expose them to the smoke of the burnt skin of the game which they are to stalk. They never give them the bones of game animals to gnaw, taking great precaution lest the game be offended.

An entire band participates in a peccary hunt. Old and young, preceded by dogs, endeavor to drive the animals toward hunters, who shoot them with arrows. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* follow droves

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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Preface

131 TRIBES SPEAKING KAINGÁNG DIALECTS inhabit the highlands of southeastern South America from the state of São Paulo, Brazil to Argentina. Although no thorough study has previously been made of any of these tribes enough has appeared in print[1] to indicate that they differ in language and culture. The group I studied[2] is localized on the government reservation of Duque de Caxias in the municipality of Dalbergia in the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil. It is one extended family.[3] A handful of fellow tribesmen, probably another extended family, is living on a reservation at Palmas[4] in the state of Santa Catarina, and as late as 1934 a small group of Kaingáng, thought to be tribesmen of those at Duque de Caxias, was reported to be wandering wild and causing damage in the southern part of the state.

177 Since 1914 when the Kaingáng were pacified and localized at Duque de [73] Caxias epidemics have reduced their number from between three and four [61] hundred to 106,[5] and a number of changes have come over their culture.

[1] A summary of data on the Kaingáng tribes is given in "La civilisation materielle et la vie sociale et religieuse des Îe du Brésil meridional et oriental," by Dr. Hermann Ploetz and Dr. A. Metraux, *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman* (Argentina), Tucuman 1930. Volume 1, Entrega 2a, pp. 107-238.

[2] They have also been called Botocudo. This is unfortunate for it confuses this Kaingáng speaking tribe with the linguistically unrelated Botocudo of Minas Gerses, Brazil. Dr. Jose Maria de Paula has published a vocabulary and some remarks on the Kaingáng of Duque de Caxias in: "Memoria Sobre os Botocudos do Paraná e Santa Catarina . . ." in *Congresso Internacional de Americanistes*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. 20 Session, Volume 1; pp. 117-137.

[3] This term is explained in the body of the book.

[4] Herbert Baldus has a vocabulary and some remarks on these Indians in *Anthropos*, Volume 30, 1, 2. January-April 1935, p. 191.

[5] 40 children (19 males, 21 females); 9 males and 13 females over thirty; 27 males and 15 females over fifty.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

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●177 Until 1914 the Kaingáng robbed and killed the Brazilian colonists, but now they live in peace. Under government instruction they have learned to till the soil. Both men and women have adopted the clothes of the whites and the men have cut their hair and discarded their typically male ornament, the lip plug. The young men use fire arms exclusively; one man about sixty uses only bow and arrow; the other men over forty alternate between bow and arrow and gun. Nowadays the Kaingáng attempt houses after the fashion of the poor white farmers of the region—mud walls, thatched roofs and dirt floors—but the Kaingáng often do not get beyond the roof, and even that leaks. Changes are also noticeable in ritual and social life. Some rituals have dropped out and the bloody feuds between the extended families are no longer carried on. Although polygyny is still practised polyandry has been given up.

In spite of change, however, many of the old ways of life are still followed and fundamental attitudes remain the same. The culture is far from dead. Because of their ferocity only the bugreiros—men hired by the colonists to kill the Indians—ever dared approach the Kaingáng before pacification. Since that time the government has steadily resisted all attempts to establish missions among them. Although there is a Catholic church about [197] five miles away from the reservation its effect on the Kaingáng has been practically nil.

123 I lived on the reservation from December 1932 to January 1934 and my house was in the center of the Kaingáng village.

Although the Kaingáng are now small farmers they still spend about half their time hunting. They are great week-enders. Every Friday some of them plunge into the jungle and turn up on Monday with a few quarters of tapir, deer or wild pig, or some birds. From time to time I joined them on these trips but with the exception of a five week expedition I made with them into the jungle my work was largely limited to wandering about the village, in and out of houses, sitting by fires and talking, working with paid informants, and, of course, treating their ailments.

114 Frae Mansueto Barcatta de Val Floriana has published a grammar[6] of the language of the Kaingáng of São Paulo but no systematic study of the language of any of the Kaingáng speaking tribes of Santa Catarina had appeared in print prior to my "A Kaingáng Text."[7]

191 Although today Kaingáng males between 20 and 30 years of age know some Portuguese there was only one whose Portuguese was good enough

[6] "Ensaio de Grammatica Kaingang," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Volume X, São Paulo, 1918. Frae Mansueto's grammar suffers from an attempt to impose Indo-European grammatical categories on the Kaingáng language. His "Diccionario Kaingang-Portuguez e Portuguez-Kaingang," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Volume XII, São Paulo, 1920, is excellent.

[7] *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Volume VIII, 1935, pp. 170-218.

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to chop out the hives that are far above the ground, and it is they who ascend the lofty pines to knock down the all-important nuts. The women stay below to gather up the nuts which their husbands have knocked down; yet very often two men cooperate in the enterprise. The women used to take ages to make robes and shirts and carrying-bands for their babies, but ever since the men began to raid the whites, blankets have largely replaced robes, fiber shirts have given way to vests, and the heavy iron Brazilian pot has become the "real" pot, while the ancient badly made clay one which the women made has become "my no-good pot" and completely disappeared. But there is no substitute for the strong, well-made baskets that the men make with such care. The men are even as good at spinning cord as the women are. The women cook, but Kaingáng cooking is simple and any child could do it. Besides, it is no disgrace for a man to cook or do anything a woman does, and a man often cooks his own supper if he is alone. Even the carrying of burdens is shared by the hard-working men, and I have seen them carrying their babies when the trail was long and burdens heavy.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

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killed you. When they killed you, I wandered around suffering, but you 768
come to call me!" When the ghost-soul at last went away, she was "all 775
green. She stood there without saying anything. He [her husband] said to her, 'Why are you green?' But she said nothing. She sat down holding on to a post. Then he asked if she was sick—if she had a pain in the belly. But she did not talk. Wanenggló [her husband] asked her whether she had seen a ghost-soul. Probably she saw a ghost-soul. But she did not say anything." Like vendetta enemies, the ghost-souls are "other things"—it is the only category the Kaingáng have for those who dwell outside the limits of the extended families—and for people in this category they know only one emotion, fear-anger.

When the Kaingáng are drunk, their malevolent and fearsome impulses 152
rise to the surface, and the memory of death plays its part in this. Festa 579
time, when the beer troughs are brimming with the steaming, sourish, honey beer, is a special occasion for remembering the dead. It is also the occasion when recollections of adultery unpunished or of slights unrequited surge into consciousness. While some dance, sing, or brawl, others sit around the edge of the dance circle with their heads in their hands and tears streaming down their faces, and their sobs and high rhythmic keening mingle with the noise of quarreling and disordered singing. When they have done with their hour or so of weeping, they rise and fill their baskets or gourds with beer and join in the festa. No recollection of the dead can occur without unleashing fear, and fear cannot be liberated without the eruption of anger, so the memory of the dead only adds to the disruptive forces that are set in motion by the beer. The more one knows about the Kaingáng, the more one is struck by the extent to which the very roots of their being have been undermined and torn by impulses to violence. This is all the more amazing when we remember what affectionate people they seem to be—how much they love to multiply a hundredfold all kinds of personal attachments. Nevertheless, when drunkenness uncovers the Kaingáng personality, it does not bubble over in rivulets of tenderness, but pours out in torrents of violence. The only outlet is murder, and that is why festas, if not actually the scene of murders, used to be almost always the forerunners of raids on the Brazilians or on vendetta enemies. The Kaingáng themselves understand, in a way, what the festa meant to them, for they say, "We had festas in order to go to attack the Brazilians." Of course not every festa is characterized by violence, but many are.[3]

[3] Although the Kaingáng held an old-time beer festa at my request the aboriginal beer troughs have been superseded by jugs of sugar cane whiskey, and the tumultuous singing by the music of an accordion played by a white man. These changes, however, have not curbed the essential temper of the Indians, and fights still occur at festas. [534] [273] [171]

262 They acquired the habit of eating chrysalids and larvae of all kinds, especially the maggot found in rotting wood [coró] which they eat raw as well as roasted, or cooked on the fire inside a bamboo sprout. Then necessity turned into habit; although the need no longer remains, the Indians continue to seek out chrysalids and larvae as refined changes of diet.

224 When the warriors are gone for long periods of time, the women catch small game by means of snares and traps, for they do not wield any weapons.

226 Curiously enough, the Botocudo are not familiar with fishing, even in its most primitive form, though rivers abounding with fish are to be found in their area.

262 177 Before the time of peaceful contact, they were already familiar with maize, squash and manioc flour, which they obtained in the course of their raids on civilized communities. But they were altogether unfamiliar with potatoes, the manioc tuber, beans, rice, yams, the taro root, etc., which they have since come to know and which they greatly value.

342 The Botocudo set up their shelters by driving slender stakes close together into the ground. [122] These sticks are bent in the shape of a bow, and their tip secured to a heavy horizontal rod which is usually fastened in two trees at the height of a man. The resulting dome-shaped roof is covered with palm leaves, brush, or ferns. A lateral area of about one meter is always left open to permit observation toward the rear and thus avoid any surprises. The fire is lit on the exposed side of the shelter, and the Indians watch over it continually to make sure that it does not go out.

Each of these huts is utilized by a single family.

[361] The shelters are lined evenly in parallel groups of two to eight huts which together form a camp.

When circumstances such as celebrations or the Araucaria seed harvest compel them to remain in the same place for a longer period of time, they build their huts with greater care and make them larger. Two shelters are built face to face and their roofing connected so that the curved sticks are secured to each other instead of being fastened to a horizontal rod. This results in a perfect vault. Each of these enlarged

302 When important battles are to be waged, the warriors of this tribe have the custom of painting their face and trunk with broad strokes of a special black dye, meant to induce greater terror in their enemies. This is why several members of civilized communities attacked by these Indians maintained that they had "recognized" Negroes among them, alleged criminals who had joined the Indians to escape the law...

301 They also adorn themselves with necklaces, which prior to the time of peaceful contact they made with various seeds, the teeth and claws of animals, hooves of small deer and tapir, etc. [177] In addition, they made use of all the objects they managed to acquire in the course of their raids, such as harness rings, buckles, strainers, buttons, inner pieces of clocks (which they invariably destroyed), coins, empty or full cartridges, etc. Suffice it to say that these necklaces, which often weigh as much as two or three kilograms, are veritable show cases of whatever has come into their hands.

411 The Botocudo bow, vôio, is always made of the tough and elastic cabiuna [the black rosewood, Dalbergia nigra--Translator] wood, catangára in the native tongue, which belongs to the same family (Leguminosae) as ipê. The latter was named pau d'arco [bow wood] by the Portuguese because it was used for this purpose by all the coastal tribes (Tupi, Guarani). The arrows are of three kinds: war arrows with metal blades; hunting arrows with tips of hard wood barbed on one side; and the short arrows [virotes] used exclusively to hunt birds, which kill by impact and inflict no open wound.

In addition to these weapons, they own impressive spears with metal blades measuring up to ten or twelve centimeters in width and thirty or forty in length, and shaped like the tip of the war arrows. The consummate skill with which they handle this formidable weapon is nearly incredible. They use it in a sort of fencing struggle by holding it with both hands in the center of the shaft. The tip of the shaft is used to parry and avert blows, and the blade to attack the adversary with lunges which cause instant death if not parried in time. Enemy heads have been severed at one blow. In the course of fencing bouts the Botocudo use downward as well as upward strokes, and leap constantly with great skill, to the front as well as to the rear.

000 certain trees and the ripening of certain fruits.

802 These Indians count from one to five on the fingers of one hand, and continue up to ten on the other hand. They indicate other quantities with both hands.

757 They treat diseases with the juice of various plants, nearly always applied externally by means of rubbing and massage. Some organic products such as deer stomachs [buxo] etc. are also used [There is a Brazilian plant, Amaiova cryptocarpa, which is popularly called "deer stomach" (bucho de veado). As some of the information in this article may have been obtained second-hand, the above might be the result of erroneous interpretation. --Translator]

They have the habit of tightly binding up all painful body areas, not only in case of snake bite but of any disease as well.

323 177 They formerly used various objects of fired clay, such as pots of different sizes and shapes and small vessels of varying form which they utilized to prepare and cook their food.

In the course of their later raids on civilized populations, however, they found similar utensils of iron and other metals [128] which they naturally came to prefer. As a result the art of ceramics declined sharply, especially following their contact with us. Prior to this contact, some of the older members of the tribe still made pottery.

821 323 It is obvious that they need a special clay for the manufacture of these objects. They believe that rainbows point to deposits of this clay, and call them kukron-ndouma--"pot arrows"--on account [764] of this belief. They never buried their dead in earthen jars nor do they do so now, but dispose of the bodies in the manner described above.

852 Every year, toward the end of December or the beginning of January--during the lambang-uan season, at the height of our southern summer--they carry out important celebrations for the baptism of children.

273 852 The Botocudo prepare a drink for the occasion which they call mong-ma. Its basic element is wild honey, and the preparation is a rather lengthy process. One moon before the event, the Indians have already started on various specialized tasks. The fathers of the children to be baptized are entrusted with the building of large troughs